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AND THE PHILIPPINES

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Notwithstanding the apathy existent in the United States with reference to questions of a colonial import, it is impossible for Americans entirely to evade certain responsibilities and problems arising from a possession of tropical dependencies. The prevalent American indifference to such matters does not render them any less real. Indeed, the situation may conceivably be made more complicated by a lack of intelligent public opinion in the dominant state. Apropos of such indifference to foreign affairs, it will be recalled that Mr. Roosevelt wrote, in 1908, to Sir Harry Johnston, concerning the American people, that "this people of ours simply does not understand how things are outside our own boundaries" and "the worst of it is that the educated Northeasterners are not merely blind, but often malevolently blind, to what goes on." Whether they will or not, the American people must face such questions as: the natural aspirations of the Porto Ricans and Filipinos for a larger measure of self-government; the demands of Alaska for a territorial system of government; and American citizenship for the Filipinos.

The present attitude of the American people toward affairs of a colonial character seems to be the logical reaction from the war-time period with its newspaper jingoism, and its widespread and heated discussion of imperialistic issues. Among the many anti-imperialists, in both public and private life, who sought to warn the country against the consequences incident on the acquisition of tropical colonies, the late Professor W. G. Sumner stood out as a notable example. In his rigorous adherence to truth, he assailed all shams and political inconsistencies, and he pointed out in his characteristically vigorous manner that

the possession of the Philippine Islands would be totally at variance with the foundations of American democracy. "It is a strange incongruity," wrote Professor Sumner, "to utter grand platitudes about the blessings of liberty, etc., which we are going to impart to these people (Filipinos), and to begin by refusing to extend the Constitution over them." Furthermore, he called attention to the fact that "the United States, by its historical origin, its traditions and its principles, is the chief representative of the revolt and reaction against imperialism" which was the very policy the country in a blind haste was about to adopt. The vexatious difficulties met with in the Philippine situation and the hopeless attempt to make political traditions and principles harmonize with actual conditions combined in bringing about a general feeling of disgust with all questions relating to the islands. The country was so tired of the whole affair that, in the words of Professor A. C. Coolidge, "if in 1900 a direct vote could have been taken on the abstract question of the retention or the surrender of the Philippines, it is certain that there would have been a large majority in favor of evacuation."

In Great Britain on the other hand, there is no lack of interest in colonial matters, due in large measure to two main reasons. In the first place, the dense population and limited area of the British Isles have made it increasingly desirable for the Englishman to seek investments for his capital abroad as well as a new home for himself in the undeveloped portions of the Empire. The natural result has been to awaken a vital interest in all colonial questions having an Empire complexion. In the second place, the remarkable expansion of British dominions during the past three hundred years has brought about a situation in which the British Isles form but an insignificant fraction of the total area of the Empire and contain approximately only about one-eighth of the inhabitants living under the British flag. Therefore, the very existence of the Empire imposes on the Englishman the necessity of thoroughly acquainting himself with all issues relating, howsoever indirectly, to the colonies.

The experience of the two Anglo-Saxon nations in the Philippines and India, their great Eastern dependencies, affords an interesting colonial study. There is a general similarity of difficulties and problems to be overcome by Americans and Englishmen, although, to be sure, the Indian situation presents such problems on a vaster scale. Both powers through their acquisition of these colonies have become important factors in the Asiatic situation. The United States, as has been said of England, has "blundered into some of the best places on the globe." Despite the general similarity of circumstances, however, attending their efforts and although the eventual intention of the two powers is for the most part identical, the United States boldly adopted a colonial policy a decade ago which was quite unique in the history of tropical colonization. This step was the more surprising when it is borne in mind that the United States, a newcomer in the field of overseas colonization, did not take as its model the example of the British in India or the Dutch in Java, but preferred to break new ground.

Probably the most frequently noted contrast in the policies adopted by Britain and the United States in their common endeavor to justly direct the destinies of their dependent peoples is to be found in the administrative ideals they have set before themselves. The avowed intention of the United States is to develop a self-governing community out of a people lacking a present aptitude for self-government; and this is to be accomplished by education and by the employment of Filipinos in the service of the government as rapidly as possible, even to the extent of sacrificing administrative efficiency. The British ideal on the other hand is an absolutely impartial and thoroughly efficient government, with the result that until recent times the higher and even intermediate government posts have been filled for the most part by Englishmen. And it is unquestionably true that England has succeeded in evolving in India a colonial system of government which may be regarded as a model of administrative efficiency.

The American idea of the importance of education as a

solution of the problems of controlling and developing the islands was revealed by President Taft, when Secretary of War, in an article to the *Churchman* in October, 1904. "The chief difference," he declared, "between their (the English and Dutch) policy and ours, in the treatment of tropical people, arises from the fact that we are seeking to prepare the people under our guidance and control for popular self-government. We are attempting to do this, first, by primary and secondary education offered freely to all the Filipino people . . . . Our chief object is to develop the people into a self-governing people, and in doing that popular education is, in our judgment, the first and most important means." It should be stated, however, that the actual extent of educational work in the Philippines is not extraordinary and unique as the above quotation leaves the reader to infer. As a matter of fact the British tropical colonies are invariably provided with up-to-date educational systems and in several of the British dependencies the proportion of school enrolment to the total population is higher than it is in the Philippines. But the essential point in this connection is that while the American has looked upon education as the most important step in the development of the capacity of self-government, the Englishman has regarded it as merely a contributory factor in the process. The English have rather placed the main emphasis on economic development, believing that economic and not educational factors are the primary elements in political evolution.

With the organization of civil government by the Taft Commission, education was made the main feature of the administration. The Bureau of Education was organized by law in 1901, and the engagement of a thousand American teachers really established a new standard in the relations of a colonial government and its subject population. During the decade since the educational policy was inaugurated, certain encouraging results have shown themselves. In 1910 there were throughout the islands 4295 primary schools, 198 intermediate, 35 arts and trades, 12 agricultural, 30 domestic science, and 38 provincial high schools. Each one of the 36 school divisions, into which the archipelago

is divided, is in charge of an American superintendent. In all, there are approximately 900 American and 6000 Filipino teachers. All primary teaching is done by these Filipinos, a great part of whom are graduates of the normal and high schools. Not only are they trained and qualified to become instructors in a foreign language (English) but they have been rendered competent to teach the common primary branches, industrial work, hygiene, simple domestic science, local government and village improvement, gardening, and agriculture. At present over 450,000 children are receiving free public instruction and it is conceivable that another two or three decades, with their advancing general enlightenment, will unify the entire archipelago by a common tongue and by a native journalism expressing itself in English and intelligible to every class. Already more people speak and write English than any other language or dialect, which fact in itself is eloquent evidence of the success of American educational methods.

The social consequences of such public instruction are also notable. During the Spanish régime certain remarkable advances were made in civilization and culture, but these advantages were confined to a small class of the population. Now, however, a great middle class is forming. It is furnishing a large part of the teachers and through the system of competitive examinations, it is gaining control of the civil service. The modern forms of industry, railroading, telegraphs and telephones, mail service, and commercial business are filled by the Filipino youth educated in the public schools established during the American occupation. The young people from the poor and unlettered masses, given the advantages of education, are forcing themselves upward. Even the agricultural peasantry are being affected and are no longer wholly subservient to a dominant proprietary class.

The second great factor, from the American point of view, in the evolution of the Filipinos into an intelligent, self-governing people is an active participation in the actual practice of self-government. It is believed that the exercise of political power is the best possible political education.

Therefore the principle of popular government has been widely extended and now runs through all the political institutions of the Philippines. The municipal councils and presidents are elective and so are two of the three members of the provincial boards, including the provincial governor. On June 30, 1910, there were 38 provinces and over 1000 municipalities and townships in the archipelago. Over 72 per cent of all provincial offices and 99 per cent of the municipal offices were occupied by Filipinos. The municipal and provincial governments are practically autonomous and they afford therefore a fair basis for observing the capacity of the Filipinos to conduct, even on a minor scale, their own public affairs. In general, the provincial governments, with certain exceptions, have not been strikingly successful in the management of their finances or in the maintenance of highways, which are two of the most important duties committed to them. The municipal governments likewise have been guilty of certain shortcomings. They have frequently appropriated public moneys from their local treasuries for purposes not in keeping with the ideal of an efficient and just administration. The municipal police force furthermore has been said to be a disgrace, save in the city of Manila. It has been regarded as a "perquisite" of the municipal president, to which he has been wont to appoint his political henchmen and indigent relatives. In short, the United States has given to the Filipinos the fullest and fairest opportunity to manage their own local affairs in the belief that although mistakes in abundance may be made, the political training so afforded will greatly outweigh the resultant inefficiency in the government. In this connection, the Hon. Morgan Shuster, recently Secretary of Public Instruction for the Philippine Islands, has said that "the mistake, if any there be, has been in giving them more than they could assimilate, rather than too little."

In 1908, Mr. Taft, as Secretary of War, presented a special report on the Philippines in which he stated that the result of the American policy with respect to municipal government in the islands, with all its shortcomings, has vindicated

cated the course taken. Gradually the idea that a public office is a public trust is being implanted in the Filipino mind, and slowly but surely the old inherited political ideas and traditions are being eradicated. "While the policy adopted does not secure the best municipal government," declares President Taft, "which might be secured under American agents, it does provide a fairly good government, with a training and experience and educational influence upon the people which is slowly but progressively curing the defects incident to a lack of political training and proper political ideals."

The determination to afford opportunities for political training has also exhibited itself in the organization and maintenance of the central government. This is shown in the appointment of four Filipinos to constitute four-ninths of the Philippine Commission, which forms the upper house of the legislature. The Philippine Assembly, the lower house, is entirely elective and its 81 members are naturally all Filipinos. In the executive departments the important portfolio of finance and justice is held by a Filipino. Three of the seven justices of the Supreme Court, including the Chief Justice thereof, are Filipinos, 10 of the 20 judges of first instance, and practically all the lower judicial officers are natives. The two delegates from the Philippine Islands holding seats in the House of Representatives at Washington are Filipinos. Furthermore, an opportunity is given to the natives to enter the civil service under a law embodying the merit system.

An examination of the civil service reveals certain noteworthy facts. In keeping with the American principle of extending political privileges to the Filipinos, as rapidly as it may be practicable to do so, statistics show that the number of native government officials has grown consistently during the ten years since the establishment of civil government. In 1901, there were 2044 American and 2562 Filipino civil servants in the islands, while in 1910 the numbers were 2633 and 4649 respectively. To be sure, most of the higher offices, carrying with them responsibility and power, as well as higher salaries, are filled by Americans. This



fact gives rise to complaint on the part of the advocates of a rapid Filipinization of the civil service, as their eyes appear to be fixed on the higher salaried positions. A second point to note in connection with this phase of the administration is the manner of entry into the service; for, after all, one of the most important questions relating to the government of tropical dependencies is that of the selection of the officials who are to carry into effect the measures of the government. It would be better that the government policy be unsound and its execution be placed in the hands of capable administrators than that wise and benevolent measures be committed to incompetent officials.

An avowed purpose of the American administration is "the maintenance of an efficient and honest civil service in all the executive branches of the government of the Philippine Islands." The effort is made to secure this end by providing that all positions in the "classified service" (which includes all the offices in the upper grades of the service) must be filled as a result of competitive examinations. The most difficult tests are the examinations for the so-called "assistants," who are drafted into positions above the lower grades, in which special clerical ability, or professional, technical, or scientific qualifications are required. Such an examination comprises certain required subjects and others that are optional. Among others, in the compulsory list, are: The writing of a thesis of 300 to 400 words on a given topic; correction of a rough draft manuscript of 200 words; history and civil government of the United States; general history and geography; political economy; and mathematics (arithmetic, algebra and plane geometry). For the other positions in the "classified service" the educational tests are much less difficult. In no case do the examinations involve more than a thorough high school training. This fact is quite in harmony with the declared policy of the United States; the desire being to afford access to the Filipinos into the public service of their country by a system of only moderately difficult intellectual tests.

The Indian civil service stands out in sharp contrast to that in the Philippines. The British have aimed at adminis-

trative efficiency pure and simple, even, in the past, to the virtual exclusion of natives from the service. To be sure, in recent years, a large and increasing number of Indians have secured civil appointments, many of which have been offices of power. This condition is not due to a waning desire on the part of the British to preserve the cherished traditions of the service, but rather to the ability of the Indians who have successfully met the required tests. The various requirements, educational and otherwise, are so searching that to meet them satisfactorily is sufficient evidence of the ability and character of the candidate, be he Englishman or Hindu.

Writing of the severity of the Indian civil service examinations, President Lowell of Harvard has said: "The examination papers are such as might be set in an American university for graduation honors, or for a Ph.D. But it must be remembered that they are prepared by men who have nothing to do with the instruction of the candidates, and hence are really more difficult than similar papers, set by a professor to his own students, would be in America." In support of this statement of an impartial critic, it is only necessary to refer to a few extracts, from the syllabus of the civil service of India, which show the extent of work required in the preliminary examination in a few of the subjects which may be selected by the competitors. In the examination in English language, for instance, a general acquaintance is required with the works of Chaucer, Langland, Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden, Pope, Collins, Goldsmith, Crabbe, Cowper, Wordsworth, Scott, Byron, Keats, Shelley, Coleridge, Bacon, Bunyan, Swift, Defoe, Addison, Burke and Macaulay. In the paper on Political Science questions may be based on analytical jurisprudence, theory of legislation, early institutions, comparative politics, and history of political theories.

From the candidates who pass the preliminary examination there are selected, in the order of merit, as many as are required for the vacant posts in the service. The selected candidates are then put on probation for one year, after which they are examined in certain compulsory subjects

relating specifically to Indian law and judicial procedure and to the principal vernacular languages of the various provinces to which the candidates are assigned.

Such difficulty and thoroughness of the examinations can be defended on the ground that the Indian civil service, which is a lifelong career, must be closed to men who having failed in other vocations might, as a last resort, seek a government post in India. The civil servant is required to begin his career young, the age limit for the examinations being twenty-four; and sufficient inducements are offered to attract into the life some of the most desirable and promising youth of both Great Britain and India. It is not surprising, therefore, that there appears to be a notable unanimity of opinion among foreign observers and critics that in respect of character, integrity, and intelligence, the Indian civil service can challenge comparison with that of any other country in the world. Leroy-Beaulieu, the leading French authority on colonies, laments a practice of his countrymen of selecting colonial officials from the home administrative service, and sending them to the colonies as a step in the line of their advancement. He would imitate the British policy of treating the colonial administration as a distinct and permanent service upon which the broadest culture which the mother country can produce is brought to bear.

The Indian civil service proper consists of barely 1200 men, of whom approximately 100 are Indians, the remainder being Englishmen. There are also the provincial and subordinate services which, recruited in India, give employment to over 1,250,000 Indians and about 6000 Englishmen. Not the least important achievement of British rule has been the building up of a great body of Indian public servants capable of rising to offices of great trust. This is instanced by the fact that two members of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, one member of the Governor-General's Executive Council, or Cabinet, and many of the judges of the highest courts in the country are Indians.

If a study of the relative efficiency of the existing administrations in the Philippines and India reveals a superiority

in the British policy, there is just as marked an advantage in favor of the system of education established by the United States in the Philippine Islands. As already mentioned, the American ideal has been to build up, as the first real step towards intelligent self-government, an educated Philippine people through the agency of primary and secondary schools. On the other hand, there have been certain lamentable deficiencies in the system of education introduced by the British into India. The Indian government has concentrated its efforts mainly upon higher education and has thus begun from the top in the over-sanguine belief that it would ultimately filter down from the higher to the lower strata of Indian society. Furthermore, education has generally been confined to the training of the intellect and has been divorced very largely from moral training and discipline with the result that the formation of character has been almost entirely neglected.

Such a system, in the words of Mr. Valentine Chirol in his illuminating volume, entitled *Indian Unrest*, "tends on the one hand to create a semi-educated proletariat, unemployed and largely unemployable, and on the other hand, even where failure is less complete, to produce dangerous hybrids, more or less superficially imbued with Western ideas, and at the same time more or less completely divorced from the realities of Indian life."

In still another respect the policy of the United States, the newcomer in the realm of colonial politics, stands out as a distinct advance over that of Britain in India. The old conception, once universally held, that the controlling state might legitimately exploit its dependencies has been quite generally superseded by the idea of "the white man's burden." This idea, until recently held to in India by England is, in its essence, the ruling of a colony permanently in its own best interests, though against its wishes. Such a policy, in turn, is now giving place, however, to that introduced by the United States in the Philippine Islands—a program which aims to control the dependency only so long as it may be necessary to train properly the inhabitants in the art of efficient self-government.

This avowed and benevolent attitude of the United States towards the Filipino is nowhere better illustrated than by the policy relating to Chinese immigration. It is notorious that there is, and has been for a decade, a loud outcry for the admission of Chinese laborers in order that the "development of the islands" might proceed, inasmuch as the inefficiency of Filipino laborers is an obstacle in the path of economic progress. Were the request granted, however, for an unrestricted immigration of Chinese into the islands, an injury would be done the natives. The latter would be far less able to compete successfully in the open labor market with the industrious, ambitious, and cheaply-living Chinese than even the workman of the United States. If the Chinaman, possessing many traits which are lacking in the Filipino, were given free entry into the Philippines, his arrival would undoubtedly seriously prejudice the economic welfare of the native peoples, although it cannot be denied that prosperity would accrue to the islands. It is much to the credit of the American authorities that they have resisted all efforts to secure the introduction of Chinese coolies. In general the British policy in the East favors freedom of immigration as may be illustrated by the example of Singapore. In that great commercial center a major part of the commerce, industry, and real estate is in the hands of Chinese, who, so far as that city is concerned, are an immigrant race. But while there is a remarkable degree of economic prosperity in Singapore, the natives in no small measure have gradually been pushed to the wall by their more ambitious and industrious Chinese competitors.

The non-exploitation policy of the United States is exemplified also in connection with the regulations governing the sale of public lands. The organic act passed by Congress in 1902 contains a provision forbidding the sale of more than forty acres of land to an individual and of more than 2500 acres to a corporation. The law, which is an enduring monument to Senator Hoar, aimed expressly to prevent that capitalistic exploitation of the islands, which, it was believed, would otherwise have been inevitable. Since the proper cultivation of sugar and tobacco requires estates of

15,000 to 20,000 acres each, the act of 1902 has had the effect of retarding agricultural development on a large scale. Repeated recommendations have been made officially by government authorities to amend the public lands clause of the 1902 act to the effect that the limitation on land acquisition should be very considerably increased.

The attitude of the Filipino people toward this question was concisely stated in a memorandum, dated September 1, 1910, presented to the American Secretary of War on behalf of both political parties in the Philippine Islands. "We resolutely set ourselves," declared the petition, "against a wider extension of the lands of public domain that may be sold to private parties or corporations. We also wish that such opinion prevail in connection with the sale of the friar estates."

Notwithstanding the benevolent intentions and many successful policies common to both the Americans and the British in their Oriental dependencies, both have been guilty of a measure of self-interest in respect to tariff arrangements. No measure has done more permanent discredit to British rule in India than the excise duty on Indian manufactured cotton, for none has done more to undermine Indian faith in the principles of justice upon which British rule claims, and, on the whole, most legitimately claims, to be based. Because of a small import duty of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent upon cotton goods, a countervailing excise duty of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent upon Indian cotton manufactures is imposed in disregard of Indian public opinion, and solely in behalf of the cotton manufacturers of Lancashire. Similarly, in the tariff relations between the United States and the Philippine Islands, the self-interest of the dominant state exhibits itself. Although the economic welfare of the islands would demand the free admission of Philippine sugar and tobacco into the United States, restrictions have been placed on such importations, out of deference to the sugar and tobacco interests of the parent state. To be sure, a concession was tardily granted through the Payne tariff act of August, 1909, by which it was provided that certain specified quantities of Philippine sugar, wrapper and filler tobacco, and cigars

may be imported free of duty, while all of such commodities imported in excess of the legal limitation must be subject to duty. On the other hand, the Philippine Islands are required to admit free of duty the products of the United States and to refrain from levying export duties on Philippine products admitted free to the United States.

In conclusion, it should be urged that, despite many differences, the problem confronting the two Anglo-Saxon nations in India and the Philippine Islands is identical in its essence. Although the policy of the United States is supposedly more benevolent and attractive to the native, inasmuch as the avowed ideal is self-government for the Filipino, it must not be overlooked that Great Britain is, in reality, proceeding along similar lines and is dimly looking forward to the same eventuality. The problems which the Englishman faces in India are on a much vaster scale than those in the Philippines. India contains a population more than thirty times as large as that of the latter dependency, and it possesses a greater multiplicity of races, languages, and religions. In India, furthermore, there exists the institution of caste, with its lamentable and disintegrating results. The American in the Philippines, however, is no less an object of native dislike than the Englishman in India. It appears to be the common lot of all colonial powers to have to endure the suspicion and resentment of their dependent peoples. And that this spirit of opposition is not due merely to a difference in race and the color of skin is well illustrated by the animosity felt by the Koreans towards the Japanese. The Englishman and American, despite many difficulties, are seeking to fulfil the demands of their national conscience by extending to their colonial peoples the enjoyment of self-government, which exotic though it be, has been believed by the Anglo-Saxon to be possible of realization in India and the Philippine Islands.

